suggest the Betsileo system, in which marriage is prohibited between persons having a common ancestor within four generations on either side. The Ikongo do not carry their restrictions as far as the Betsileo and they have a ceremony for lifting the ban on the more remote degrees, but I could not learn which ones. 512

The Menabe system is quite different. Marriage is prohibited between parent and child, brother and sister, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, and between the children of a brother and sister who have married a sister and brother. The last are considered as closely related as children of a single couple. Marriage between the descendants of two sisters, tracing in the female line, is also absolutely prohibited, no matter how remote their actual relationship. The ban on the foregoing marriages cannot be lifted. In all but the Zafindramanara gens it is forbidden for a man to marry the daughter of his first cousin. This is considered almost equivalent to a marriage between father and daughter. However, the ban can be lifted by a ceremony and such marriages are not unknown. A woman does not seem to be forbidden to marry the son of a first cousin, but such a union would be considered unnatural and informants knew of no instance. The children of two brothers may marry, but there is some feeling against it. The ban-lifting ceremony is often performed as a precaution, although it is not absolutely necessary.

The children of a brother and sister, i.e. cross cousins, are expected to marry, although they are not forced to do so. If they do not, their children are still more strongly urged to marry and this, cross cousins in the second generation, is considered the ideal match. Cross-cousin marriage seems to be most developed among the Zafindramanara. Here the cross cousins address each other as *Anjarenady* ("potential spouse"). If they fail to marry, the same reciprocal term is used by their children. It is also used by a man and his cross cousin's daughter, whom he is expected to marry. This is the only case in which marriage across generation lines is approved. The other Tanala have no corresponding term.

The Tanala say that cross-cousin marriage is pleasing to the ancestors, who like to see their descendants closely knit together, and that it helps to keep property within the related group. The property aspect was always stressed and I believe that this is the main reason.

THE LEVIRATE

The Tanala Ikongo regularly practice the levirate in the case of widows with children. It is considered desirable because the children 587

587 are thus assured of a good stepfather and will continue to live with their real father's lineage. However, it is not compulsory and the first husband's family can not prevent the widow from marrying an outsider. Childless widows return to their own families and marry whom they please, a new bride price being paid for them. The first husband's family has no claim on this.

The Menabe rarely practice the levirate. It was explained that a man who married his brother's widow would be suspected of having poisoned him to obtain her. However, such marriages are not prohibited and I heard of one or two instances.

Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is permitted by all the Tanala. The ceremony, bride price, etc., are exactly the same as for an outsider and such marriages are neither encouraged nor discouraged.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BRIDE PRICE

589 Throughout Madagascar it is the payment of a bride price which distinguishes a legal marriage from concubinage. Without it, no amount of ceremony can make a union regular. The price is paid by the husband or his father to the bride's parents and must be paid in full before she is taken to the husband's house. The size of the price varies with the tribe, being highest among the cattle people of the south and west. It is usually fixed by custom and I never heard of two families haggling over it. Among the Tanala Menabe the bride price is so small as to be almost negligible.

The giving of the bride price in no sense constitutes a purchase of the woman herself. She retains full membership in her own gens and lineage and can return to them at any time. Among the Tanala the husband cannot claim a refund even if she deserts him during the betrothal period preceding the final marriage. Among the cattle tribes the husband can demand a refund, but everyone will despise him for doing so. In no case will the wife be returned by her family against her will.

The real significance of the bride price is that, through it, the husband acquires all rights in a woman's potential children. The Malagasy are quite clear on this and it is verified by many bits of native custom and law. Thus the Ikongo say that children formerly belonged to the mother because no bride price was paid. Since they have adopted the custom of paying the bride price, the children belong to the father. The father's exclusive right to the children in a divorce is explained on the same basis. A man who marries a

woman with an illegitimate child is expected to give the regular bride price and to pay a small sum for the child as well, if he wants it. If he does not, it belongs to the mother's family and is reared by them.

The most extreme example of this idea of the purchase of potential children is found among the Vezo Sakalava, a tribe on the southwest coast. Here there is no refund of the bride price in case of divorce, but the consent of the first husband is necessary for a remarriage. He will bargain with the new husband as to how many children born of the new union will be given to him and is entitled to demand from one to three. Such children are considered the first husband's legal heirs, without formality of adoption. Informants said specifically that such children were to reimburse him for the loss of the bride price.

INTER-CLASS MARRIAGE AND INHERITANCE OF RANK

Slavery has been abolished among the Tanala and class distinctions are rapidly breaking down, so that the statements made here refer to past conditions. The native attitude toward inter-class marriages was much like the European one, the higher classes disapproving and the lower approving. Marriages between nobles and commons and between commons and slaves were fairly common, but marriages between nobles and slaves were almost unknown. Nobles often frequently had slave concubines. If the mother was a slave, the father would free both her and their child, but would not make her a legal wife. The child's status was doubtful. He would not be considered slave, but the nobles would rarely acknowledge him as a full member of their class and gens. Affairs between noble women and slave men were vigorously opposed by the nobles and the slave lover would be sold out of the village or even killed. Informants knew of no offspring from such unions.

Marriages between nobles and commoners were not uncommon. The ceremonies were the same as for marriages within either class. Among the Ikongo, children of such unions took the father's rank and gens. Among the Menabe they took those of the lower parent.

Marriages between commoners and free slaves seem to have been rather frequent. If the slave had been born free and had a family in the village, the ordinary marriage ceremony was performed. The children took the rank and gens of the father. Such unions were rather looked down upon and were rarely contracted by any but the poorer commoners.

Matings between commoners and slaves seem to have been regarded more favorably. It must be remembered that many of these

582 were Tanala prisoners of war whose antecedents were well known.
567 If the slave came of a good family, the fact that he or she was a slave carried little social stigma and the children would be accepted as equals by their relatives.

In unions of commoners and slaves there was no marriage ceremony. If a common man took a slave woman as a concubine, her status was not changed unless a child was born to them. After this, the father was in honor bound to buy her and their child from her owner. He would usually free both of them by calling together his family and pronouncing a curse on anyone who thenceforth considered them as slaves. If he did this, the child inherited his gens and rank. If he failed to do it the child and mother remained slaves and might be sold by his heirs after his death.

If a woman who had been captured and enslaved bore a child to her master, her relatives might remove her slave status by paying a partial ransom. This was called *fanjolavavaka* ("to replace carrying the bamboo") in reference to the long bamboo bottles used by slave women for carrying water. It was usually about half the woman's market value as a slave, perhaps four to six head of cattle. The payment of this ransom not only freed the woman and her offspring, but gave her an honorable position in the household equal to that of any of the regularly married wives.

Marriages between common women and slave men were less frequent, but by no means unknown. Middle-aged widows who wished to be only wives frequently took slave husbands. The first step was to buy the man, if he belonged to someone else. The woman then made a feast, killed an ox and distributed the meat to her relatives, and announced that this man was henceforth free and her husband. The wife had a whip hand in such unions. The husband, even though officially free, could not return to his own people. Moreover, if he behaved badly or paid attention to other women, his wife could reduce him to slavery again and even sell him.

567 Children of common women and slave men took the gens and rank of the mother. However, if the father was a Tanala and had been a man of good family, or a noble, before his enslavement, the children might go back to his people when they were grown and could legitimately claim his gens and rank.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 The Tanala system of relationship terms is comparatively simple. It was impossible to get an authoritative list of the terms used by

GK In case of divorce, the children, other than nursing infants, always remain with the father. This, coupled with the wife's alimony rights, does much to make divorce unpopular. Among the Menabe, the first husband's permission is not necessary for the remarriage of a divorced woman, but propriety requires that she allow some months to elapse before entering a new union.

Among the Ikongo the wife has no rights in the husband's property even if she has been the injured party, but the children can choose with which parent they will remain. Women cannot divorce without cause. The same causes are recognized as among the Menabe, except that adultery after a promise of reform is not accepted. In addition, divorces are granted for striking a child after the wife has protested, insulting the wife's parents, and making love to the wife's mother, either her real mother or one of her father's
● 537 other wives. If a woman has been divorced for adultery, her first husband's permission is necessary for her remarriage. If she wishes to marry her lover, the husband may forbid it, out of spite. Her family will intercede for her and the lover will try to win his consent with gifts. If the woman has divorced her husband, or has been divorced for any cause other than adultery, his consent is not necessary.

REMARRIAGE

Widows and widowers usually remarry unless they are too old. The ceremonies in the case of a young widow are the same as those for a first marriage. Middle-aged widows will often go to live with men without any ceremony and do not seem to suffer socially. It is felt that they are old enough to know their own minds and the family is usually glad to have someone else support them. A widow may not marry within a year of her husband's death. There is no fixed time for widowers, but it is considered very bad form for them to marry within less than six months.

Both widows and widowers are expected to ask the permission of the deceased spouse's family before remarrying. In the case of widowers, this is only a polite formality, intended to honor the dead. The same is true for childless widows. In the case of widows with children, the first husband's relatives cannot absolutely forbid the marriage, but may oppose it if they think the new husband will not make a good stepfather. They will insist that the children be left with them, or that the new husband come and live in their ward.